



SOPER TO ADDRESS AIRCRAFT WORKERS

Invitation from H-bomber men

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

How they remembered Hiroshima Day

IN towns and cities all over Britain on August 6 people demonstrated to mark the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

In Brighton Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament pickets stood at points 3½, 5, 10 and 15 miles from the clock tower, centre of an imaginary bomb explosion, bearing posters explaining the extent of damage at that point if a ten-megaton H-bomb had been dropped. Other activities included a march and leafleting in the town, pickets on the sea front and open-air meetings at the war memorial. Similar demonstrations took place in Great Yarmouth and Torquay.

In Battersea, London, the local CND marched to the war memorial to lay a wreath in memory of the 100,000 dead. Putney group marched to an open-air meeting whilst Westminster group poster-paraded through the streets.

Wreath-laying ceremonies also took place in Haslemere, Surrey, and Manchester where 200 supporters of the North-West Region CND marched in silence to the Cenotaph with black-bordered posters.

90-mile tour

Bradford campaigners held open-air meet-

A GROUP of workers at a Bristol factory making engines for H-bombers and missiles have asked Dr. Donald Soper to speak to them about disarmament.

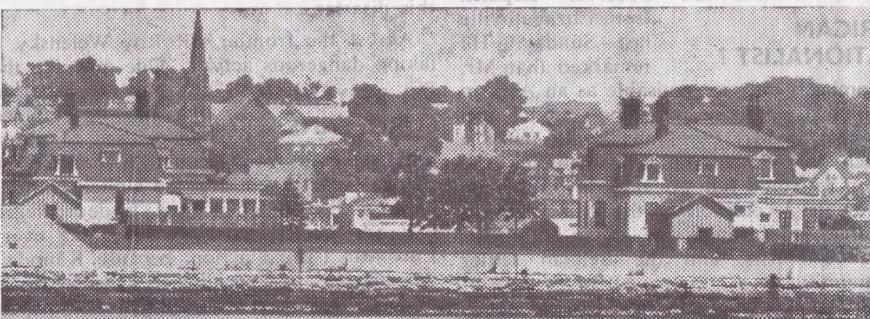
Dr. Soper has accepted the invitation and will speak on Thursday, September 1, at the lunch break (12-1 p.m.) outside the Bristol Siddeley Engines factory.

This is one of a number of developments in the Summer Industrial Campaign being undertaken by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, *Peace News* was told on Monday by Pat Arrowsmith, who returned to London to report progress.

At factory gates

In addition to factory gate meetings held over the past month, 24 trade union meetings have been addressed, evening and open-air meetings held on Durdham Down, and poster parades through the city organised.

The District Council of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen (AESD) which has donated money to the Bristol campaign has passed a resolution reminding members of the union's policy favouring unilateral nuclear disarmament and of the



direct responsibility resting on members when employed on armaments.

The resolution points out that diversification of the aircraft industry is desirable, and emphasises production for peaceful purposes as opposed to production for military use.

Clergy and ministers in the area have been visited by a young Quaker member of the Direct Action team, Adam Parker Rhodes. Although he has had long conversations the response has not been sympathetic.

Not all trade union branches have been sympathetic either. Two have refused to hear Pat Arrowsmith. Some meetings have been poorly attended and there has been little local support for the pickets.

Following a campaign in the Surrey area, a third campaign was launched in Manchester this week aimed at reaching the workers at the A. V. Roe aircraft factories.

In a leaflet urging the employees to "get the factories converted to entirely peaceful manufacture," the Committee draw attention to the fact that the Co-op Party and many large trade unions have passed resolutions in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, and ask: "Why not help them implement this policy?"

'Quit all alliances'

Britain will be safer "when we stop taking part in the present deadly arms race and no longer gear our industry to produc-

place in Great Yarmouth and Torquay.

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90-mile tour

Bradford campaigners held open-air meetings and leafleted in a 90-mile tour of the area which would have been destroyed had an H-bomb dropped.

In Alton, Hants, loudspeaker announcements in the streets were followed up by door-to-door leafleting.

In Newbury, Berks., 150 people attended an exhibition, "Death of a City," organised by the CND. Twenty people joined the local group after seeing the exhibition which included the showing of films. Among the audience were American airmen from the Greenham Common Air Base, one of whom indicated that there is considerable disquiet and discussion about their role in nuclear weapons policy on the part of Base personnel.

Members of the Youth CND in Birmingham and Whitehall, London, maintained 24-hour vigils. Support for the vigils varied from half a dozen to over thirty.

At Speakers Corner

About 200 people attended a Quaker Meeting for Worship held in Hyde Park, near Speakers Corner. In voices that carried clearly above the background noise of traffic one speaker after another proclaimed the Christian message of love and brotherhood which demands that men should cease to perpetrate such evils as Hiroshima.

Captured by the spectacle of a circle of people sitting on the grass, passers-by found themselves drawn to the gathering and many sat down and widened the fellowship of those remembering in silent prayer the victims of August 6, 1945.

Meanwhile in Hiroshima itself Crown Prince Akihito gave a message to a memorial service which he and 30,000 people attended.

union's policy favouring unilateral nuclear disarmament and of the



A US Coast Guard vessel warding off the pickets' small boat as President Eisenhower tours a Polaris submarine. Which was in danger—the President's life or his conscience?

World Wide Photos

POLARIS ARRESTS

THREE supporters of the U.S. Committee for Non-violent Action's current campaign against the Polaris missile-launching submarine were arrested on Saturday, July 23, for picketing the entrance to Fort Adams in Newport, Rhode Island, where President Eisenhower is staying whilst on holiday.

They were later released and are to appear in court on August 19, when a Providence attorney will defend them without fee.

On Sunday, Polaris Action supporters held a meeting of silent worship in front of the Fort. Ten people maintained a picket line during the afternoon.

On Monday President Eisenhower inspected the missile submarine "Patrick Henry" moored in Newport Harbour. Three Polaris Action supporters rode out to greet him in their fifteen-foot outboard skiff with placards reading "Abolish Missile

Subs," "Defend Freedom By Non-violence," and "Save Mankind From War."

Harrassed by six Coast Guard vessels they had been circling the submarine for an hour at a distance agreed with the Harbour Master, when a Coast Guard vessel escorted them ashore to procure life-saving equipment which was said to be compulsory under federal and state law. On return the President's yacht had gone.

Simultaneously another CNVA contingent picketed the Government shipyards, builders of Polaris submarines, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and distributed leaflets to the workers.

On July 29 a vigil was begun outside the main entrance of the Strategic Air Command base at Pease, near Portsmouth.

During all activities the committee's 23-foot sloop "Satyagraha" sailed in Portsmouth Harbour bearing the slogan "End Arms Race" and the Aldermaston March "ND" symbol on its sail.

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'Quit all alliances'

Britain will be safer "when we stop taking part in the present deadly arms race and no longer gear our industry to producing H-bombs, bombers and missiles."

"The best defence is to give up our own H-bombs unilaterally, quit all alliances that rely on them, and pursue peaceful policies instead."

In the Surrey campaign pickets have been outside the Vickers works where the TSR-2 strategic bomber is being planned, but factory gate meetings have been unsuccessful.

In connection with the Manchester campaign, a poster parade is to be held in Oldham tomorrow, Saturday, assembling in the Market at 2 p.m. A parade in Manchester on the following Saturday will assemble in Albert Square at 2 p.m. Open-air meetings will be held on Sunday, August 14 and 21, at Platt Fields at 2.30 p.m.

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THE NEW CUBA

A further report from William Worthy
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Michael Randle writes from Accra pages six and seven

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HAROLD STEELE—he tried to go to Christmas Island—is a Unitarian, and knows it. Are you a Unitarian without knowing it? Ask Unitarian Information, 6 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.2.

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BUSINESS AND FINANCE

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The rights and wrongs of Katanga

By **FENNER BROCKWAY, MP** Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



LET us try to get clear the rights and wrongs of Katanga. The United Nations' resolution calling for the withdrawal of Belgian troops and their replacement by UN forces undoubtedly included Katanga.

It referred to the "integrity" of the Congo, and the only recognised Congolese Government was the administration of which Mr. Lumumba is the Prime Minister.

Nevertheless, one can understand Mr. Hammarskjöld's desire, on receiving Dr. Ralph Bunche's report of his visit, to seek further authority from the Security Council.

It was clear that the entry of the UN forces would be resisted by African troops.

These troops have Belgian officers and are Belgian trained. They have undoubtedly been encouraged to resist by influential local Belgians. But they are under the authority of Mr. Tshombe, the elected head of the provincial administration.

To this extent, therefore, the conflict between Leopoldville and Elizabethville is potentially a civil war.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Mr. Tshombe reflects Belgian interests. However deep his tribal motive in claiming independence, his power lies in the support which he is receiving from the Belgian industrialists who control the rich mineral economy of Katanga and of the Belgian personnel who administer the mines, the factories, transport and the schools.

There was a very revealing paragraph in Patrick O'Donovan's *Observer* dispatch from Elizabethville last Sunday. He

remarked that Mr. Tshombe is only recognisable as an African nationalist when he remembers to be one, and that if Mr. Lumumba could make a speech to Africans in Elizabethville Mr. Tshombe would fall. In fact, Mr. Tshombe represents a coalition of the African traditionalists in Katanga, the chiefs and other collaborationists, and the Belgian settler community.

In the background is the Belgian army. It would not be likely to resist incoming

The Katanga issue has now become a danger to peace and the United Nations has the duty to encourage a solution.

I should like to see the Security Council inviting a Mission composed of representatives of the African States to undertake the task of resolving the difficulties between Leopoldville and Elizabethville. From the first I have urged that the Conference of African States should offer their services to this end. This is supremely a matter for Africa.

I believe that a solution could be found on the basis of the recognition of the authority of the central government of the Republic of Congo, but allowing considerable autonomy to Katanga and other provinces. The Belgians left behind an artificial State. The end of their occupation requires adjustments to ensure harmony and co-operation within it.

No one wants the issue of Katanga to be determined by fighting. A conflict would calamitously handicap Congo's start as an independent State. Katanga's economy and social administration would collapse, and the Congo would lose the essential contribution of its richest province. The best service independent Africa can render the Congo at this time would be to save it from this disaster.

Across the frontier, Sir Roy Welensky is taking dangerous action. One morning the

SIR ROY ARMS newspapers reported that the Post Office had refused to transmit a telegram from Kenneth Kaunda to the British Government and the United Nations because the Independence leader alleged that Sir Roy Welensky was arming every European (stupid action, because Kaunda's message has in consequence received world notice). The next morning the newspapers reported that Sir Roy was establishing a

them .303 rifles. Does Sir Roy want Central Africa to repeat the experience of the Congo?

I am glad to conclude on a happier note. I congratulate Nyasaland's varied representation at the London Constitutional Conference, and, if I may, Mr. Macleod, the British Colonial Secretary, on the agreement reached.

Dr. Banda was wise to accept it.

He hasn't got adult suffrage or responsible government, but he's got an African majority in the Legislature, and this is the important thing immediately. He will now be able to determine the progress to independence, even though power theoretically remains with the British Governor.

This issue—the rate and date for independence—is the dividing point left by the conference. The European representative talked of 1970. He does not understand the speed of change in Africa. Dr. Banda will probably accept one Parliament under the present arrangement, say for five years, and will then demand independence.

What will be the effect on the Central African Federation? Dr. Banda would like an election in Nyasaland before the Constitutional review of the Federation, expected to begin next

NYASALAND AND THE FEDERATION February, but even if he doesn't get this the Nyasaland Government would scarcely dare to support Sir Roy Welensky knowing that within a few weeks the African leader would be head of its legislature. Mr. Macleod has promised that Dr. Banda will attend the constitutional review. Everyone will know that he is the voice of Nyasaland.

A final but fundamental point. The London Conference left open the question whether women shall be enfranchised. I hope that African, Asian and, indeed, European spokesmen in Nyasaland will insist on this. Human equality must extend to Woman and Man as well as to Black and White.

Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

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AFRICAN NATIONALIST ?

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In the background is the Belgian army. It would not be likely to resist incoming United Nations troops overtly, but it would almost certainly become involved. It would exercise the functions of protecting Belgian lives and property and maintaining order until the UN forces took over. This would bring it into the fighting because there would undoubtedly be clashes between the Africans who oppose Mr. Tshombe (they recently elected one-third of the members of the provincial council) and the Africans who support him.

It should be noted that Mr. Hammar-skjoeld did not go back on the earlier Security Council resolution. He still assumed that the Belgian forces should retire from Katanga and that UN troops should enter. He said that the UN forces would require to be strengthened and asked that rules should be laid down which would enable them to enter Katanga without becoming involved in Congo's internal affairs.

Meanwhile, Ghana and Guinea offered to send forces to support Mr. Lumumba should

the United Nations not proceed. Russia threatened intervention, but it is doubtful whether this would be welcomed by the African States. Dr. Nkrumah has emphasised that Ghana wants "to keep East and West out of the Congo problem" and that "power politics" must be excluded if the problem is to be solved.

I am writing necessarily before the decisions of the Security Council are known. I hope it has reaffirmed its demand that Belgian troops shall be withdrawn from Katanga as well as from the rest of the Congo and its instruction that United Nations forces shall enter the province and become responsible for the maintenance of order until normal conditions are restored.

But at the same time negotiations should be initiated for a settlement which will enable this to take place without fighting.

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DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, August 13—Saturday, August 20

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon, WRI Study Course "Pacifism—a critical examination". 8 p.m.-10 p.m., PPU Summer Conference "Violence—its causes and remedies." Details from Stuart Morris, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Sunday, August 14

LONDON, S.W.1 : West End Poster Parade. 4.15. Waterloo Pl., Lower Regent St., Westminster CND.

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Introductory Discussion Session. 8-10 p.m. Eddie Burke "Violence in Racial Relations". PPU and WRI.

Monday, August 15

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Harold Bing "Pacifism in the Past". 8-10 p.m. Roy Sherwood, paper on "Violence in International Relations". PPU and WRI.

Tuesday, August 16

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Jean van Lierde "Pacifism in the present". 8-10 p.m. Frank Dawtry "Violence in Crime and Punishment". PPU and WRI.

Wednesday, August 17

LONDON, N.9 : 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St. Ralph Watson "Conflict, Pacifism, and Mental Health." Edmonton PPU.

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Hem Day "Pacifism and the State". 8-10 p.m. "Any Questions? Any Answers?" PPU and WRI.

Thursday, August 18

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Arthur Ulloth "Pacifism and the Community".

8-10 p.m. Dr. Robert Thouless "Violence in Personal Relations." PPU and WRI.

Friday, August 19

BRISTOL : 7 p.m. 35 Sylvan Way, Sea Mills.

Owen Brown "Pacifism and the General Public."

Discussion and activity. PPU.

SWANSEA : Clyne Castle, 9.30 a.m.-12 noon. Ian Dixon "Techniques of Peacemaking," 8-10 p.m. Social Evening. PPU and WRI.

Monday, August 22

NEWCASTLE : 8 p.m. Connaught Hall, Blackett Street. Piano recital by Denis Matthews. Tickets 10s. 6d. & 5s. Limited standing, 2s. 6d. CND.

Wednesday, August 24

LONDON, S.W.2 : 7.30 p.m. 41 Kildoran Rd. Group meeting. Clapham PPU.

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SUNDAYS

GLASGOW : 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

LONDON, N.W.3 : 11.30 a.m. Whitestone Pond. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON : 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community IVS.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON : 7 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11 : 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

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his own ditch, that the precious gem of war rejection lies.



MIRACLE in Germany draws crowds

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A MIRACLE has been happening in Frankfurt. Despite all the assertions that no German is interested in the past, thousands upon thousands of people have visited St. Paul's Church to see an exhibition: "Night fell over Germany: Fascist documents."

About 35,000 Germans visited the exhibition in a fortnight, despite hot weather and holidays. Its opening coincided with the trial of SS General Simon—in which Brigadier von Hobe said the General was quite right to have shot civilians at the end of the war (a statement backed by the Defence Ministry itself).

The exhibition, which was conceived after the anti-Jewish demonstrations a few months ago, consists of pictures, photostats, pamphlets, newspapers and posters from the Hitler era. Posters ("The Jew is our Enemy") are alongside pictures of hills of bodies, concentration camps and resistance papers.

The exhibition, organised by the Municipal Youth Department, the Conference of Frankfurt Youth and the State Youth Department of Hesse, has been overcrowded. People came singly or in groups, a lot of young people, housewives, office workers at luncheon, postmen, etc. They just stood in silence, deeply moved. Many of them left in tears.

The present has been related to the past. The younger generation learned that in the Nazi era a whole people didn't become idiots or criminals overnight. The beginnings were shown—the administrative orders on headed notepaper, the by-laws, the Ministerial directives.

● Around the corner there was running at the same time a Civil Defence exhibition with pumps and spades attractively set out. Expensive pamphlets were distributed. The exhibition was almost empty.

Three months for CO

BRIAN JAMES BROOKS, a 23-year-old van driver and conscientious objector from Hornsey, London, was jailed for three months on July 26 after pleading guilty to failing to comply with an order to submit himself to a medical examination.

cuss the problems of peace and war.

Many from over 20 nations came throughout the assembly and much pacifist literature, including *Peace News*, was distributed. The centre closed with a meeting addressed by Pastor Tullio Vinay, who spoke about the community of Agape founded by him in Italy.

NEW PATTERN OF SERVICE

Notable among the speakers in the plenary sessions of the assembly was Mr. M. M. Thomas, of the Syrian Church of Malabar, India. He described the main task of the European churches as helping Europe discover her new pattern of service to the world.

"Unless European youth are able to see the basic human urges behind the nationalism of Asia and Africa, and see in these urges the hand of God at work, Europe will not be able to serve Asian and African peoples at this time of rapid changes," he declared. The European churches should create a public opinion to agitate for the investment of between one and five per cent of the national income for the development of the under-developed countries.

The 135 members of the Swiss delegation and the 140 Swedish delegates undertook to give five per cent of their August pay to assist under-developed countries and the Swiss called on Switzerland's 2,000,000 voters to do the same. At its final session the assembly recommended each national delegation and each participant to do likewise.

WAR AND THE CHRISTIAN

The French delegation issued a statement concerning their attitude to the Algerian problem, which affirmed their desire to "see our neighbour, for whom Christ died, in every Algerian, whether he is one of the original inhabitants of the country, or of Arab or European origin," and called on the French Government to resume negotiations with the representatives of the FLN. The whole assembly expressed their solidarity with the French delegates.

In its findings, the assembly declared they were not agreed as to what a Christian's attitude should be to atomic weapons and to military service, "although we are all convinced that we shall not find a solution by resorting to violence and that modern war—by its nature and means—raises the most serious questions about our participation in it."

tical department tells me that a levy of one halfpenny per head per annum would multiply the PN Fund ten times and enable us to double the size of the paper.

I propose to put this before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I don't see how we can reasonably refuse to consider such a ridiculously small additional tax. But if he does, we shall have to consider some other means of raising this trifling sum.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since July 29: £108 12s. 2d. Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £956 9s. 5d.

Still needed £1,544.

Anonymous contributions: Holloway, N.7 £1; O.A.P., Essex, 2s. 6d.; Hollywood, 2s. 6d.

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Government pressed on fall-out monitoring

WATFORD (Herts.) Rural District Council has asked the Government to give county councils powers to monitor radio-active fall-out.

Congratulating the Council's Health Committee on its action, Councillor Will Hayden told a recent meeting that there is a growing awareness among local authorities of the need for local powers to deal with radiation hazards.

On radio

TOM LEHRER, the American entertainer, will be interviewed on the BBC's Home Service next Thursday (August 18) in the series "People Today."

He will describe how he drifted into his career of entertainment as a comment on modern times and how he is returning to Harvard University where he used to teach mathematics.

Two of his records are available in Britain.

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

DR. KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI, the Indian writer, died in New Delhi on July 23 at the age of 50. A follower of Gandhi, he joined him on his famous "march to the sea" in protest against the salt tax levied by the British. After some time in jail he was in the United States from 1934 to 1946, studying, lecturing and travelling. He is the author of *WAR WITH OUT VIOLENCE*.

Mr. K replies

MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S reply to Mr. Macmillan's letter of July 19 is reported to have made Mr. Macmillan very cross, but on the face of it, it leaves Anglo-Soviet relations pretty much where they were.

Mr. Macmillan can hardly have expected Mr. Khrushchev to be enthusiastic about Britain's "realistic" colonial policy, and inasmuch as the country is an ally of America it is bound to be affected by any worsening in relations between the two Great Powers. One of the great political objections to Britain's membership of NATO is that it makes initiatives of the kind which Mr. Macmillan presumably wants to undertake difficult to sound convincing.

The Congo crisis . . .

NOT that independent initiatives are easy even if one's impartiality is well established. Mr. Hammarskjöld and his assistants have been severely criticised by the Soviet Union for subserviency to imperialism in dealing with the Congo crisis. Mr. Hammarskjöld has replied with tact and spirit, saying that he has failed to get the co-operation he was entitled to expect from any of the parties to the dispute.

The Soviet charge throws into relief the intractable difficulties which an international organisation is faced with in such situations. The UN is trying to maintain a "presence" to keep open the way to a political settlement, but internal and external pressures make this a formidable task. There are strong pressures in the Congo itself tending to break the country up into tribal fragments. These were evident before independence, and it was hoped that the political agreement between Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu might provide the basis for a centralised state.

The collapse of the administration has given these separatist pressures free play, however, and in Katanga they are reinforced by the evident faith of the industrialists there that Mr. Tshombe will preserve their interests. Mr. Lumumba is trying to hold the Congo together, working for the kind of state that has been built up in Ghana. But the fact that he has spent these critical weeks travelling abroad to rally diplomatic support suggests that he has little faith in his own power in the Congo itself.

COMMENTARY

by

By Geoffrey Carnall

Congo favours separation, and separation is identified with the plans of European industrialists, it is no wonder that the Russians are denouncing Mr. Hammarskjöld. It seems bad luck all the same that he should have to take the kicks, and it was welcome news on Monday that the Ceylonese and Tunisian delegations at the UN were drafting a resolution backing up his proposal that UN entry into Katanga should not be held to pre-judge the issue of Katanga's relationship with the rest of the Congo. These two countries are certainly not concerned to maintain Belgium's hold on the Congo economy, but recognise the fearful consequences of full-scale war breaking out in the Congo. One hopes that the Soviet Union will take the hint.

In any case, whatever the outcome of the turmoil in the Congo, it should at least have finally disposed of one dream which haunted the imaginations of many people in the European Common Market countries—the dream of an Afro-European economic empire which would act as a counter-weight to Russia and America. It is this closing in of the horizon which may have prompted the recent flurry of diplomatic activity by President de Gaulle and Dr. Adenauer, including Mr. Macmillan's visit to Bonn on August 10. Presumably there is a quest for solidarity, but the less solidarity Britain has with the African policies of France and Belgium the better.

Geneva talks . . .

THE meeting of the nuclear test ban conference at Geneva on August 2 was fairly satisfactory. The Russian delegate welcomed the American concession that nuclear research explosions should be open to full inspection, although he refused to commit Russia to taking part in the research programme proposed by America.

What was less satisfactory was the Washington reaction to this meeting, as reported by John W.

lete anyway, this does not seem a weighty argument, although the Russian refusal to put weapons of its own into the research "pool" is certainly in line with its sensitiveness on all measures of inspection.

Mr. Finney further reported that some Washington officials were irritated by their own delegation at Geneva, which they felt was inclined to rush the Administration into agreements. This appears to mean that the delegation is more anxious to reach agreement than Washington is.

Not that this should surprise anyone who reflects on how deeply ingrained the habit of dependence on armaments is, how unthinkable a world without military "defence" must seem to most people in governmental positions (and out of them, too, for that matter). Readers of last Sunday's *Observer* profile of Admiral Raborn, who is head of the US Polaris submarine programme, would hardly guess that disarmament was even a remote possibility. (His views are of direct concern to Britain, whose ports are to be part of the chain of bases for the "replenishment" of US rocket-firing submarines.) One doubts whether Russian admirals are any different. The resistance to disarmament is so great that it is natural to write off such negotiations as those in Geneva as futile.

. . . not futile

BUT to do this would be a great mistake. These negotiations are the one substantial recognition by Great-Power governments of the horror of nuclear war which is common to both political camps in Europe, and is one of the few hopeful features of the present situation. In Britain it now seems almost certain that the Labour Party conference will come down strongly against nuclear arms. It will be some time before we get a similar resolution out of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but there is no question that reluctance to face war is great enough to be of political importance in Russia too.

According to David Floyd of the *Daily Telegraph*, a recent article in *Pravda* argued that war would reduce the new society to ruins; that if it were regarded as inevitable, people would be demoralised; they might well ask why they should work to produce things that would only be destroyed. David Floyd called this feeling "pacifist." Perhaps it is not quite that, but it will in any case encourage supporters of disarmament here. If supporters of disarmament on both sides of the

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... no economic empire

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What was less satisfactory was the Washington reaction to this meeting, as reported by John W. Finney in the *New York Times*. Officials there, he said, "felt that the talks had taken a serious turn for the worse." The trouble is that Congress is unlikely to agree to Soviet inspection of American weapons unless America can inspect Soviet weapons. As the weapons used will all be obso-

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Why the AEC wants more tests

OFFICIALS of the US Atomic Energy Commission are convinced that further atomic testing would result in dramatic improvements in warheads for ballistic missiles, including a cluster of warheads for a single missile.

This was reported in the *New York Times* on July 31. "Knocking down a cluster of warheads, coming in like a spray of buckshot, would seem to pose an almost insuperable defensive problem, at least by present technology."

"AEC and Defence Department officials," the report stated, "are now urging that greater weight be placed on the military need for improved weapons . . . officials are arguing that from the standpoint of national security and on the basis of the past Soviet record in keeping international pledges, the precautionary assumption must be made that the Soviet Union is carrying out secret weapon tests."

Next leader of civilisation?

VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON, the Republican presidential nominee, indicated his views in a series of appearances and a TV programme during early campaigning in Hawaii on August 4 and 5.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

If he were US President, he said, the Soviet Union could expect negotiation only if the United States were strong and there were reasonable prospects of success. "We will never place ourselves in a position where we will have to negotiate from weakness," he said (echoing similar words by Democratic nominee Senator Kennedy).

Communist China, he added, should not be recognised until it has become "civilised."

Nuclear conventional forces

THE British Army will shortly get its first atomic gun—an American eight-inch howitzer. It can fire shells with a nuclear warhead equal to "thousands of tons of TNT."

This was reported last Saturday by the *News Chronicle's* Air Correspondent, Angus Macpherson.

The new weapon will fill a gap in the present array of nuclear weapons. Its range of seven to ten miles will cover targets at ranges below that of the Honest John rocket.

Eventually the English Electric Blue Water atomic rocket will cover the whole field of "tactical" attack from only a few miles up to about 60.

South Africa's emergency

DR. VERWOERD, the South African Prime Minister, said last Saturday that his Government intended that the state of emergency should be lifted by October 5—the date of the referendum on the creation of a republic.

The emergency has now lasted 135 days—since March 30.

Ike's parting gesture

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, in a special message to Congress on Monday, presented an imposing list of legislative requests, which he hopes to see completed before Congress adjourns for the election campaign.

The President indicated that the Administration is thinking of extending the military

programme with more aircraft carriers, more intense development of the B-70 supersonic bomber and the Samos reconnaissance satellite, the broadening of the Polaris submarine project and the "hardening" of air bases (by putting them underground).

He added that the capability of the Strategic Air Command to conduct a continuous airborne alert would be further strengthened.

What price African labour?

MR. W. E. ALLAN, an Essex farmer living near Brentwood, has received a letter offering to provide an African farm worker at a wage of £5 a month.

The letter came from Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. A National Farmers' Union official said on Monday that the matter was being investigated.



The Soviet Union launched 175 rockets and three earth satellites under International Geophysical Year programmes, Tass reported on Monday.

The Japanese Socialist Party announced on Monday that it will make an election campaign issue out of the presence in Japanese bases of US naval vessels which can carry nuclear weapons.

THE BEAT GENERATION - I

Social rebels or juvenile delinquents?

THE very first thing anyone writing on the "Beats" should do is admit that the complexity of the subject rules out any easy, abstract intellectualism. There are no experts on Beatness, certainly myself least of all, though a vast amount of nonsense has been written on the subject.

I say these things not from any false humility (for humility, whether false or genuine, is not one of my virtues) but because we are dealing with a movement which, being alive, continues to grow and to change. When we concern ourselves with what is alive, and being alive is growing, and being conscious has also a subjective life, we find it all but impossible to write anything "definitive." The reader is therefore warned against any and all absolute and categorical statements that I or anyone else may make on the subject of the Beats. These statements and opinions usually reveal more of the writer than the subject.

And since the subject involved is very much alive and since I myself, not being a Beat, am hardly able to serve as a spokesman for this group, let me list some of those books on the Beat Generation which will give a better introduction to the problem than anything I can write.

PROTEST: THE BEAT GENERATION AND THE ANGRY YOUNG MEN, a pocket-book anthology of writing by Britain's Angry Young Men and America's Beats, compiled by Gene Feldman and Max Gartenberg, is worth reading if only for the essay by Norman Mailer, "The White Negro." That essay is a must.

THE BEATS, also a pocket-book, is a collection of works both pro and con, edited by Seymour Krim. It contains my own essay from *Liberation*, "Hipsters Unleashed," and has in it a particularly fine essay by Clellan Holmes as well as some brief and pungent comments by Gary Snyder.

VITRIOLIC BLAST

Howl, by Allen Ginsberg, one of the folk heroes of the movement and a personal

Southern California which is now peopled by Lipton's "Holy Barbarians."

This list does not begin to cover the important writers I have left unmentioned such holy and flaming lights as Gregory Corso, or the quiet and muted but swinging poems of Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and a great many others. This is not, however, a bibliography nor am I well enough read to draw up a comprehensive list.

But there is something important to discuss in regard to the literature. Western culture is saturated with "critics"—men who do not write creatively, who produce neither poems nor plays nor novels nor essays, but who spin reams of words of "high criticism" about those who do actually create. Such people seem to find it more important to conduct an autopsy on a poem or a novel, to see just how it was put together, than to view the poem or novel for its content. The result is that a number of academic types have devoted a good deal of space to explaining the Beat Generation. And they have explained it in terms of its being a literary movement, of such and such

even more in Kenneth Patchen. Henry Miller is perhaps the most important single literary influence from the past upon the present, and it is true that he combines much of Europe in his writing and thus provides a link. Miller, however, is not a European but essentially an American writer, as are the contemporary Beats.

The last point I want to make in this first discussion of the Beats is to distinguish between the Beat Generation and juvenile delinquents. At first glance they would seem to have much in common and they are, indeed, often thought of as being the same thing. One hears the Square talk about "beatniks and hoodlums" as if they were interchangeable words. Living as we do in an age of anxiety, it is true that many of the same factors that produce the Beats help also to produce the juvenile delinquent. Both groups have their roots in the chaos of contemporary world civilisation. But there the similarity ends.

The juvenile delinquent is generally a product of the slums of our major cities. He forms into gangs and, on the level of

By David McReynolds

Our regular New York contributor continues his monthly column by starting a series on the Beat Generation. David McReynolds starts by discussing some of the literature of the Beats and insists that they are far more than a literary movement. He goes on to show them as a group of "real rebels"—in contrast to the conformist juvenile delinquent who "reproduces in miniature the worst aspects of society around him."

French poets having had an effect upon it, of the Beats being only a continuation of the Old Bohemia with its headquarters in Chelsea and Greenwich Village, etc.

There is really nothing I can do about this. Intellectuals and professors never seem to be happy until they can reduce life to a series of abstract symbols for convenient mental filing. But they have got the Beat Generation all wrong. First of all, it is not simply a new version of the Old Bohemia. The Beats did not originate in Greenwich Village; they had almost nothing to do with Greenwich Village. Second, it

is the gang, he reproduces in miniature, the worst aspects of society around him. His violence is only a mild reproduction of the terrifying violence of an insane society which is building hydrogen bombs, and it is difficult to see why we should be so upset at the brutal murders emerging from gang wars unless we are also prepared to reject the brutal murders involved, both potentially and immediately, in the cold war.

Or, again, how can we complain about the young hoodlum who joins his local gang because he knows the "gang girls" will supply free sex and plenty of it? How

develops leadership, maintains its organisation, and functions as a kind of American underground. What a pity that such great talent should be so perverted. But also how revolutionary a thing to realise the great hidden potential of these youth if only their energy could be channelled.

Now, briefly, to compare the Beats, we find a group which is essentially middle-class and not lower class. A group which has few obvious barriers between it and material success in this society. But the Beat rebellion is a profound rebellion in that they have rejected both violence and material wealth. Whereas society rejects the juvenile delinquent, who wants desperately to make good within society's present framework, the Beat is the one who does the rejecting—he rejects society as unworthy of his effort; its rewards are straw in his mouth.

A CLEAR NO

If society fears the Beat it is because he cannot be understood in the present materialistic frame of values. He alone—not the church, long since compromised to the system—has said a clear No. No, he will not fight the wars of the United States. No, he will not hate the Negro. No, he will not sell his talent to Madison Avenue. No, he will not dress respectably, because he does not seek the respect of society.

I will wait until a later article to discuss to why I think the Beats sprang up, and where I think they may be going. But we must understand one thing about the Beats, and that is their thundering rejection of the violence and material values of American society. And so it is, oddly enough, that the juvenile delinquent, with his criminal record of violence and theft, is really the conformist, while the Beat, who murders no one and rarely robs, is the real rebel, the ill-clothed and confused potential revolutionist sprung from the fatted loins of the great American middle class.

To be continued.

Young Men and America's Beats, compiled by Gene Feldman and Max Gartenberg, is worth reading if only for the essay by Norman Mailer, "The White Negro." That essay is a must.

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VITRIOLIC BLAST

HOWL, by Allen Ginsberg, one of the folk heroes of the movement, and a personal hero of mine for his courage and honesty, is the poetic manifesto of the Beat Generation. This is contained in the Feldman-Gartenberg pocket anthology, but if you can get the City Lights pocket edition you will also find his AMERICA a vitriolic blast at the American status quo.

GO is a novel by Clellan Holmes, in paper back, which viewed as a novel leaves much to be desired, but as a sociological case study of the early Beat movement is very valuable.

ON THE ROAD, in paper back, is Jack Kerouac's famous novel, which some find exciting and I found tedious, but which in any event is filled with some beautiful writings and a "sense of America" you do not often see. Incidentally, the characters and events of GO, ON THE ROAD and HOWL all overlap so much after reading all three that you feel personally acquainted with the weird and fiery persons who launched the movement.

HOLY BARBARIANS, by my friend Lawrence Lipton, tends to be sensationalised in order to meet the needs of the Squares. But when Lipton has finished painting his lurid picture of Beat life he has some very sensible things to say and the book, now available, in paper back, is worth reading. I enjoyed it particularly because I had known several of the characters who were featured in the book and for a period of several years I had lived in the "Venice West" area of

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French poets having had an effect upon it, of the Beats being only a continuation of the Old Bohemia with its headquarters in Chelsea and Greenwich Village, etc.

There is really nothing I can do about this. Intellectuals and professors never seem to be happy until they can reduce life to a series of abstract symbols for convenient mental filing. But they have got the Beat Generation all wrong. First of all, it is not simply a new version of the Old Bohemia. The Beats did not originate in Greenwich Village; they had almost nothing to do with Greenwich Village. Second, it is not essentially a literary movement. If you will read ON THE ROAD you will see that Kerouac, in that autobiographical and rambling novel, describes a whole society of Beats of which he is only a part—and he is virtually the only writer in the group. The same is true of HOWL.

These writers record a movement of which they are a part. They reflect in their writings much deeper and broader social reality. If these writers have become spokesmen and heroes to the Beats it is because they can make choate the inchoate Beat rejection of society, because they alone can provide the "literary rationale" for a movement which is largely incapable of expressing itself clearly, or at least in terms the Squares can understand. For some critics to discuss the Beat Generation as a literary movement is quite as stupid as to insist that the last war was really a "literary movement" of some kind because of all the books written about it.

LITERARY ROOTS

And so the Beat writers are just that—they are the "writers' brigade" of the Beat rebellion. They did not create the rebellion, they simply record it and interpret it. I am, of course, being too narrow, for in this movement the writers have played a very important rôle and have done far more than simply record events.

But it is important for us to realise that the Beat scene has social, economic and political roots—that it is more than a style of writing. But as long as we are on the literary roots of the Beats, I would suggest that the critics realise that the Beats are more than a continuation of the French tradition of Rimbaud, Verlaine, etc. They have solid roots also in such distinctively American writers as Walt Whitman and

the gang, he reproduces in miniature, the worst aspects of society around him. His violence is only a mild reproduction of the terrifying violence of an insane society which is building hydrogen bombs, and it is difficult to see why we should be so upset at the brutal murders emerging from gang wars unless we are also prepared to reject the brutal murders involved, both potentially and immediately, in the cold war.

Or, again, how can we complain about the young hoodlum who joins his local gang because he knows the "gang girls" will supply free sex and plenty of it? How does this differ from the major American corporations that have made it an accepted practice to provide prostitutes at business conventions in order to boost sales? Or, again, if the juvenile delinquent steals a car or robs a store this is only a short cut on his part to those same goals held always before him by society. He generally lacks the social background or the education to hope to achieve the kind of beautiful life described in *Life* magazine, and held out to him each week almost as a taunt.

SOCIAL CONFORMIST

Is it so surprising that the young delinquent, lured on by these material values, but barred by his race or his colour, by his family background or lack of education, should seek to achieve by illegal means that which he cannot achieve legally? And why not—doesn't every daily paper carry stories of men in very high places, even close to the American President, who take "favours" or sell their influence? No; I am afraid the juvenile delinquent is essentially a social conformist, not a true rebel. His only rebellion—and it is a courageous one—is his direct defiance of the forces of law in order to achieve those things which *Life* and *Time* magazines assure him are really the birthright of every American.

Still, even as I dismiss the juvenile delinquent as essentially a captive of the social values, I must note that the juvenile gangs demonstrate, even in their awful brutality, the potentiality of youth I have discussed in earlier issues of *Peace News*. Here is a youth movement—an authentic, honest youth movement. It has no adult support. It is drawn from the lowest class of society. It is subjected to constant social pressure and legal repression. And still it survives,

why, I think the Beats sprang up, and where I think they may be going. But we must understand one thing about the Beats, and that is their thundering rejection of the violence and material values of American society. And so it is, oddly enough, that the juvenile delinquent, with his criminal record of violence and theft, is really the conformist, while the Beat, who murders no one and rarely robs, is the real rebel, the ill-clothed and confused potential revolutionist sprung from the fatted loins of the great American middle class.

To be continued.

1945

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WHY I PREFER TO STAY IN JAIL

OUR fellow prisoners keep asking : " Is it right you nuclear disarmament blokes can get out of here by signing a paper ? "

When we say it is right, they tell us : " Well, I'm . . . if I'd do six months' bird if I could get out."

If we signed, it would mean we agreed not to take part in another demonstration against nuclear weapons in the next year. We can't agree to that.

I would like to explain why—and why with 14 other ordinary people I went to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Foulness on May 2 to obstruct non-violently the work being carried out there on weapons of mass destruction.

One thing was surely proved by the latest Summit impasse: that negotiation from strength, the waving of the big stick and the stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction is no more likely to result in peaceful co-existence in 1960 than ever it did before.

If we are ever to have a worthwhile lasting peace between nations it is imperative that this policy of threats and counter-threats be abandoned.

I happen to be British and proud of many of the past achievements of this country : the fact that we were the first to abolish slavery and that we contributed £8,000,000 during World Refugee Year.

On the other hand I am disgusted and ashamed that our government is spending £1,800,000,000 this year on war preparations described as " defence. "

Mr. Duncan Sandys, former Defence Minister, has admitted that "in the event of a nuclear war there would be no defence for the people of this country, so we have had to concentrate on defending the rocket bases."

At the same time, considerable sums of the " defence " budget are being spent on trying to persuade people through the medium of Civil Defence, that in the event

aNATomy

Anatomy of a Sacred Cow, by Konni Ziliacus, MP. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1s.

THE beast in question is NATO and

of an imminent nuclear bombardment they should remove curtains, whitewash windows and retire to the cupboard under the stairs with a store of tinned food !

Many sincere CD members are engaged on issuing these instructions, and are unwittingly helping our government to lull the public into a false sense of security.

I feel that at heart most thinking people

At home disarmament would release countless millions of pounds to be spent in innumerable ways, to build a better society and better international relationships.

Priority could be given to maintaining those families which have hitherto relied on missile production for their living until they were absorbed into peaceful industry. In addition, we could improve our social sys-

We have marched, we have petitioned, we have protested peacefully. Supporters of civil disobedience in reluctantly breaking the law by obstructing work at the rocket bases are demonstrating in a peaceful way—for means determine ends—that we will not stand by and allow our government to threaten the people of other lands with extermination, burns and radiation diseases.

By Peter Dodson

Twenty-eight-year-old Peace News staff-man, Peter Dodson, was sentenced to six months imprisonment on May 2 when he returned with other demonstrators for a second direct action protest at the Foulness Island (Essex) site of an Atomic Weapons Research Establishment. The following article, extracted from a letter he wrote from prison, was first featured in a recent issue of his local newspaper—the Romford Recorder.

realise that the present state of affairs cannot continue indefinitely.

What we have come to regard in 1960 as a state of peace is really nothing more than a state of trigger-happy, nervous tension between two Power blocs.

How easy it would be today for someone to see a blip on a radar screen, mistake it for a nuclear bombardment or approaching H-bombers and press the button to release retaliatory missiles which would result in a holocaust the like of which the world has never known : annihilation, disease and contamination on such a scale that our civilisation could not survive.

The " deterrent " idea preceded by centuries the coming of nuclear weapons, and we can see the results of dependence on the " deterrent " by reading back down the bloody pages of history.

But whereas the failure of the " deterrent " myth in the past has resulted in the death of multitudes of men and women, its failure in the future threatens the destruction of the future of the world.



tem immeasurably in the care of old people and penal reform.

It would be possible to take great steps forward in getting at the root causes of crime and delinquency.

Our social services are crying out for more probation officers. Psychiatric social workers, nurses and teachers—all these jobs could be made more attractive if only we had the money.

Equally important in my opinion is the need of those in the under-developed countries who desperately need not simply their daily bread, but the equipment and know-how to produce their own food and develop industries.

Fed with violence

If we ever wondered how the German people allowed the Nazis to pursue their mass murder at Belsen and Buchenwald, what kind of morality are we supporting in 1960 ? We are acquiescing in the manufacture of weapons that, if used, would make the Nazi horrors seem negligible by comparison.

Yet these weapons are being prepared in our name and with our silent consent.

In a sense the H-bomb is a symbol of our violent society, a logical extension of the violence inherent in our personal relationships, in our pre-occupation with greed, lust and self-interest and our own personal resort to violence when provoked.

How can we hope to solve the social problems of delinquency and juvenile crime when on every side our young people are fed with violence of one kind or another—TV, films judicially and ultimately the violence of power politics.

It's high time that professing Christians all over the world began asking themselves if it's possible to love your neighbour by cremating him and his family with nuclear weapons, or taking his life by any other means, or even by using violence against him.

IF PEOPLE WANT PEACE ENOUGH THEY WILL GET IT.

—Reprinted from the Romford Recorder.

Understanding the African

AN interesting visitor to Accra recently was C. L. R. James, the

and unscrupulous rise of the capitalist class and system. Today in the under-developed

for the people of this country, so we have had to concentrate on defending the rocket bases."

At the same time, considerable sums of the "defence" budget are being spent on trying to persuade people through the medium of Civil Defence, that in the event

one to see a blip on a radar screen, mistake it for a nuclear bombardment or approaching H-bombers and press the button to release retaliatory missiles which would result in a holocaust the like of which the world has never known: annihilation, disease and contamination on such a scale that our civilisation could not survive.

The "deterrent" idea preceded by centuries the coming of nuclear weapons, and we can see the results of dependence on the "deterrent" by reading back, down the bloody pages of history.

But whereas the failure of the "deterrent" myth in the past has resulted in the death of multitudes of men and women, its failure in the future threatens the destruction of the human species.

Is this the best we can do? Surely someone must take the lead in breaking through the endless circle of missiles and counter-missiles, threats and counter-threats.

Well, why not Britain? We are in a unique position in this respect. We are crippling ourselves in the struggle to keep up with the Russians and Americans and to fulfil our NATO commitments—and we still lag behind.

Disarmament

We allow our country to become a kind of green and pleasant, but extremely vulnerable missile carrier for American "deterrents."

Thinking in terms of self-preservation alone, the folly of this is self-evident. Our island is so placed that a mere dozen well-distributed H-bombs would not only wipe out the population but also render this country uninhabitable.

What can we lose by disarmament? By withdrawing from NATO commitments, refusing to form military alliances and abandoning our "deterrents" we no longer remain a threat to any would-be oppressor and can at least be assured of immunity from attack from fear.

It has never been quite clear to me just what Russia would gain by bombarding us with nuclear missiles if we did not possess them ourselves. There would be no economic or strategic advantage in reducing this island to radio-active debris.

What can we gain by disarmament? We would be taking a tremendous moral lead in easing world tension that would almost certainly result in the breakdown of NATO and the present policy of negotiation from strength, paving the way to genuine negotiation from trust.

more probation officers. Psychiatric social workers, nurses and teachers—all these jobs could be made more attractive if only we had the money.

Equally important in my opinion is the need of those in the under-developed countries who desperately need not simply their daily bread, but the equipment and know-how to produce their own food and develop industries.

all over the world began asking themselves if it's possible to love your neighbour by cremating him and his family with nuclear weapons, or taking his life by any other means, or even by using violence against him.

IF PEOPLE WANT PEACE ENOUGH THEY WILL GET IT.

—Reprinted from the Romford Recorder.

aNATOMY

Anatomy of a Sacred Cow, by Konni Ziliacus, MP. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, £s.

THE beast in question is NATO, and about it Konni Ziliacus has written a 20-page pamphlet in his usual outspoken, quotation-packed style.

This is one of the Campaign's series that will cover the political and economic developments after British renunciation of nuclear weapons. The series is intended for discussion, and there is no doubt that there has already been considerable debate about this particular one in Transport House, for Konni Ziliacus makes a frontal attack on the present Labour Party policy as set out by the leadership, and takes his stand on the UN Charter.

The pamphlet is clearly written in anticipation of the Party's October Conference, and anyone going to Scarborough would do well to read it.

C. F.

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Understanding the African

AN interesting visitor to Accra recently was C. L. R. James, the socialist and writer from the West Indies. James with a handful of others, that included George Padmore, W. B. Du Bois and T. R. Makonnin, was one of the early pioneers of the Pan-African movement that has become the most significant factor in contemporary African politics.

James gave two talks, one to a small group, the other to a large meeting. His subject at the first, which was organised by the Ghana Writers' Association, was "Shakespeare, Racine, Melville and the Under-developed Countries." It was far from being one of those intellectual exercises in finding tenuous connections between unrelated subjects so dear to academicians. James' deeply held convictions are the product of careful thought and analysis.

His basic theme is political rather than literary. If we are to understand the tremendous forces at work in the newly liberated countries of Africa and Asia, he says, we must see them against the background, not of Britain, France and the US in their present, relatively stable period, but of these countries during their own revolutionary periods.

Britain in the seventeenth century, France in the eighteenth century, and the United States in the nineteenth century, saw revolutionary upheavals in which tremendous energy was liberated. A new dynamic class suddenly had new fields of activity opened to it, with almost no limits on its freedom of action. The works of Shakespeare, Racine, Melville mirrored, or prophesied, these periods in which dynamic energies were expressed in extremes of virtue and vice.

In these periods, however, the main scope for the forces released to express themselves was in private enterprise; hence the rapid

and unscrupulous rise of the capitalist class and system. Today in the under-developed countries, however, the scope for free enterprise in industry is limited; it is the government that now holds the strings to economic and political power.

The dynamic forces today tend to express themselves in the political field, which accounts for the fierceness of political battles, the existence of bribery and corruption, the tendency to find extremes of political thought and action and the sheer mag-

GHANA NOTEBOOK

By Michael Randle

nitude of the political personalities in the under-developed countries. James gave Nehru, Gandhi, Mao Tse-tung, Nasser and Nkrumah as examples.

The questions that this thesis raises would require a separate article to discuss in full, but the analysis is revealing—much more so than the usual analysis that points out that the economic and political development that took place over centuries in Europe and the US has been eclipsed into the space of a few years in the new nations.

My own feeling listening to James was that he paid too little attention to social and cultural, as opposed to economic, factors. In terms of his analysis, for instance, it was reasonable to compare Gandhi and Mao Tse-tung. But if we are to understand why the new forces in India expressed themselves in non-violent action under Gandhi and in China in violent rebellion under a military dictator, we would have to consider cultural, religious and other social forces. James does not discard these factors, but I feel he under-estimates their importance.

After this private talk, the public lecture was disappointing. Public oratory is rarely satisfactory because it sets too high a pre-



US journalist William Worthy, who was in Cuba recently, gives an indication of the change that the Revolution has brought to the life of the island. This is the story of a million-dollar exclusive club in Havana, and what became of it after Batista's dictatorship.

Healing the scars of slavery in Cuba

Country Club in Havana. The membership roll used to consist of three to four hundred North Americans from the diplomatic corps and business community, including US Ambassador Philip Bonsal, and about 1,500 wealthy Cubans, including Fulgencio Batista while he was Dictator-President.

To join, each member paid \$2,000. Monthly dues were \$15. The members, I was told, constituted "a caste within a privileged group." The million-dollar private club boasted 134 beautifully cared-for acres, with an exceptionally fine golf course, stables, tennis courts, a sandy beach, swimming pool and yacht basin. Batista kept horses in the stables, and sailed in and out aboard his yacht. Tactfully, the Cuban owners of the Biltmore bestowed periodic horsemanship prizes on the dictator's son in order to flatter the old man and thus assure a steady flow of the taxpayers' money into the club's maintenance and improvement account.

CLUB SEIZED

When Castro took power on January 1, 1959, over a demoralised nation, a war-shattered countryside and a bankrupt economy, first things had to come first. But in March of this year the Revolution caught up with the Biltmore. Lawyers and accountants in the Ministry for the Recovery of Illegally Acquired Property revealed that, under Batista, \$800,000 of the people's money had gone to dredge an inlet for the yacht basin and to make other improvements. Acting on Castro's premise that whatever was taken improperly from the people belongs to the people, the Ministry seized the club and later confiscated it.

When North Americans and other members showed up the following day to collect their golf clubs and personal effects, the

IN one of his syndicated columns Walter Lippmann wrote not long ago:

"What is going on in Cuba today is no mere palace revolution at the top, in which one oligarchy has ousted another. This is a social revolution involving the masses of the Cuban people, and its aim is not to install a new set of rulers but to work out a new social order."

The new deal on the 745-mile-long island goes beyond livelihood, housing, improved medical care and a lease on personal freedom. The social upheaval ushered in by Fidel Castro extends even to opportunities for play and relaxation for the 6,500,000 people. Gone is the day when only the wealthy enjoyed privileged and feudalistic access to the country's beaches and to other facilities normally public in all modernised nations. In 1960, under the Revolutionary Government, nothing is too good for the Cuban masses.

I witnessed a dramatic example of the change when I visited what was, until March 19, the exclusive Biltmore Yacht and

revolution

mium on emotionalism and makes for deceptive oversimplification. In this



The new Cuba : Under Fidel Castro this exclusive club has become the Cubanacan Workers' Social Circle, to which the humblest person can belong.

all employees and their families are automatically members in equal standing with other members. At the end of their working hours they may and do remain to be served by fellow employees.

"It's a formidable social experiment," the administrator remarked.

"Fidel was here one night recently," he continued. "It was decided to make this a pilot project so that each centre of population in Cuba will have a social centre modelled on this club, although the others that will be built won't be so big and lavish.

"Twenty-five former Cuban members have returned and rejoined. All had sworn never to come back. Also, two former North American members have rejoined in order to dock their yachts. A few other North Americans pay the membership fee just to use the golf course."

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**DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.I**

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mum on emotionalism and makes for deceptive over-simplifications. James said some useful things about bribery and corruption and the policy of non-alignment, but he spent much of his time praising "Nkrumism" in superlative terms. I have a lot of respect for President Nkrumah and for what he has done for Ghana and Africa, but "Nkrumism" is simply a Convention People's Party myth.

It is a myth, moreover, that is proving costly in terms of Ghana's external relations. The Minister of Works of the Mali Federation, M. Xamadou Aw, for instance, broadcast on July 16 on Mali Radio an attack on the "cult of the personality" which he said he had found in Ghana during his recent visit. This cult, he said, had been developed into an "art rarely equalled," adding that he thought Ghana regarded the independence of Mali as a threat to her attempt to assume leadership in Africa.

Now that the importance of good relations with the surrounding territories, formally under France, has been realised, it is to be hoped that the lessons of this broadcast will not be overlooked. In other directions a definite attempt is being made to improve relations. Nkrumah's message of congratulations to the newly independent states and the statement by Houphet Boigny, Premier of Ivory Coast, that he would gladly visit Ghana if invited, are welcome signs.

President Tubman in Liberia is setting the pace in the efforts to improve relations with French-speaking territories. He has already visited Olympio and Houphet Boigny, and has received the Mali Prime Minister, Modibo Keita, in Monrovia. Tubman is known to be lukewarm on the Pan-African issue which will be a spur to Ghana to present her point of view to her neighbours and clear up outstanding differences without delay.

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When North Americans and other members showed up the following day to collect their golf clubs and personal effects, the Cuban militiamen would not let them in. But the exclusion was only temporary, until a complete inventory could be taken. Eventually all individual property was carefully returned, including boats and horses. Demetrio Alfonso Benitez, the present administrator of what has been rebaptised the Cubanacan Workers' Social Circle, showed me a stack of individually signed receipts itemising the returned belongings.

"What comments," I asked Señor Alfonso, "did the displaced members make when they came around to pick up their effects?"

ANYONE CAN JOIN

"Some of them thought it was the end of the world," he replied. "It was like the French Revolution to them. They had an attitude of resignation but also of extreme annoyance."

After the confiscation, the Government turned the property over to the Catering Union to be administered for one and all. Señor Alfonso, himself a catering worker, was hired by the union as administrator.

Today anyone can belong; the only bar to membership is bad conduct on the premises. The Government asks no questions to determine political sympathies. Dues were slashed to be within the reach of all: \$2 a month per family for those earning less than \$100 a month. The sliding scale of dues, reaching \$5 for those families with a monthly income under \$300, is topped by a \$6 maximum, regardless of size of income. The club now has 4,500 members, and each member brings along an average of four relatives to share the facilities.

Under private ownership, the club's employees had to slip out the back door the minute their day's work was finished. Now

served by fellow employees.

"It's a formidable social experiment," the administrator remarked.

"Fidel was here one night recently," he continued. "It was decided to make this a pilot project so that each centre of population in Cuba will have a social centre modelled on this club, although the others that will be built won't be so big and lavish.

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CRIME VANISHING

Not the least remarkable feature of the Cuban social revolution is the change it has wrought in individual behaviour. Like the low-income Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, who abruptly stopped drinking, fighting and getting arrested during the year-long bus boycott, the average Cuban today has something constructive to live for and finds it possible to express the revolutionary ideals in his daily behaviour. Crime in Castro's Cuba has diminished to the vanishing point.

At the club the behaviour of Cubans unaccustomed to luxury has been exemplary. None of the paintings, decorations or furniture has been damaged, destroyed or badly handled by the new members. I saw no guards hovering around to watch the people. Sufficient were the revolutionary slogans and signs on the walls: "This is your property. Take care of it like you would take care of your home."

"The bourgeoisie," Señor Alfonso recalled with a pleased smile, "predicted this would be a flop, with so many family backgrounds and racial differences. They predicted conflicts and fights. But so far there has not been a single incident."

After the club was converted from a citadel of snobbery to a public facility, an East German delegation in Cuba paid a visit. "They were enchanted," the administrator told me. "They admitted there was nothing like it in their Communist country."

Even when the Prime Minister assures his television audiences that the reforms are intended for one and all, the hangdog attitudes of the humble are not revolutionised overnight after lifetimes of rejection and deprivation. The poor have joined Cubanacan; they are living in Seventh Heaven; but it still seems too good to last.

comed as equals. If you stand close, you will hear them admonish their roaming children: "Don't go there. Don't touch that."

When barriers of inhumanity crumble, the scars of slavery heal slowly.

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We are growing used to Bomb — Morgan Phillips

By CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

THE debate on the future of the British Labour Party went a small step further on Tuesday with the publication of Party Secretary Morgan Phillips' pamphlet *Labour in the Sixties*.*

The pamphlet was prepared on the instructions of the National Executive which commends it to Annual Conference and will seek approval for the organisational "action points" it contains.

Morgan Phillips looks for an end to the rows which have damaged the Party and goes on to recognise the need for a changing approach to changing problems. He points to the "astonishing contrast between private wealth and public squalor" (more cars and refrigerators, less schools and hospitals), calls for more planning, and claims that the Party's criticism of contemporary capitalism is not based on "pessimistic assumptions about a recurrence of mass unemployment." This is a big advance on the sort of crude Marxist economics that people like the late Nye Bevan have been putting forward.

It is when he comes to foreign affairs that Morgan Phillips reveals the Party's extraordinary lack of a sense of priorities. On the "shadow of the Bomb" he has this—and this only—to say: "Here is a danger of annihilation so imminent and immediate that we are growing used to it."

The Church tells us we must "learn to

Cheering marchers greet released prisoners

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

PLACARD-bearing supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Northern Direct Action Committee waited outside Strangeways, Manchester, and Armley, Leeds, prisons last Friday morning too welcome to freedom the demonstrators who had been jailed for a week after the non-violent direct action demonstration at Finningley H-bomber base on July 30.

At Manchester on the evening before their release a 50-strong march organised by the NDAC had gone to the prison, where 12 people stayed to vigil all night. At 7 a.m. the seven women were released as supporters clapped and sang "The H-bomb's Thunder." After marching round the prison with supporters, still singing, the demonstrators were driven off to breakfast at the home of a supporter. They were finally driven to the station and put on trains for their respective homes.

The eleven men released simultaneously in Leeds were welcomed out of jail by about 40 cheering and flag-waving supporters, who crowded round them enthusi-

Greenham Common Air-base demonstration

ON September 3, the twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, a day-long demonstration will be organised by the Southern Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the USAF H-bomber Base at Greenham Common. The demonstration will take the form of a "poster patrol" on both sides of the A4 Bath Road between Newbury and Thatcham within sight of the base.

There will be a motorcade round the base in the afternoon and a march into Newbury in the evening.

On September 9-11 at the Farnborough Air Show, Alton and Farnborough CND groups are to leaflet the many thousands of visitors going to the show.

Further information may be obtained from Ted Berrow, Hillcrest, Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants.

astically. Watched by police and prison officers, demonstrators and supporters marched round the prison singing. The demonstrators, whose ages ranged from 17-65, were treated to breakfast and driven to catch their trains.

WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

Meanwhile, Phoebe Willets, 43-year-old Foulness prisoner, mother of two, is to celebrate her eighteenth wedding anniversary on August 22. Greetings cards may be sent to her at Hill Hall Open Prison, Epping, Essex.

Support for all the Foulness prisoners, now entering their fourth month in jail, is to be expressed by the fourth Foulness prisoners' march through London tomorrow (Saturday). The "Operation Foulness" banner will lead the march from Bryanston St., near Marble Arch, at 2.30 p.m., down Oxford St. to the offices of *Peace News* and the London Region Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Although the original "Operation Foulness" Committee is disbanded the Southend CND is collecting signatures for a Foulness petition to be presented to the Prime Minister on the release of the prisoners on November 1. A mass CND canvass in Southend and district has secured over 100 new supporters. On August 20 a "Foulness monster" float is to be entered in the Southend carnival.

NOT PARTY POLITICS

Peace News has been asked to make it clear that the political statements made in court by the Finningley prisoners were not party political.

Three statements made by Dick Atkinson, Pat Farrar and Len Gibson were based either on moral or Christian grounds.

Len Gibson told the court: "Because I wish to live in real peace and not the modern perversion of the word, I am prepared to face imprisonment to stop the harm war preparation causes to future generations. Such is the evil of war today that, as a Christian, I feel I am forced to choose the life I will follow and I have chosen to follow the Prince of Peace. My appeal by my action is to the conscience and good sense of the nation..."

EDINBURGH TO LONDON MARCH

A CALL for a concentrated period of campaigning of similar intensity to that which preceded Aldermaston has been issued in connection with next month's march from Edinburgh to London.

"This is not just another march," says the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. "It will launch a national campaign to take our message into every village, town and city in Britain."

The three-week march, which supporters are asked to join for a week, a week-end, a day, or an hour (some are already going all the way) will leave the following points:

Edinburgh, Sept. 3rd, Galashiels, 4th, Hawick, 5th, Carlisle, 6th, Kendal, 7th, Preston, 8th, Bolton, 9th, Manchester, 10th.

Stockport, Sept. 11th, Macclesfield, 12th, Stoke-on-Trent, 13th, Stafford, 14th, Wolverhampton, 15th, Walsall, 16th, Birmingham, 17th.

Coventry, 18th, Northampton, 19th, Bedford, 20th, Luton, 21st, Watford, 22nd, Willesden, 23rd, London, 24th.

Mass meetings and marches will be held in Manchester and Birmingham and there will be a final rally in Trafalgar Square.

Thank you, PN sellers!

A PART from all the demonstrations and activities held last week to commemorate the atom bombing of Hiroshima, two things went very well. One was *Peace News* and the other was PN's new leaflet on the "One in Five" Civil Defence lectures by James Cameron. Orders came in thick and fast. A thousand extra PN were printed . . . and sold out.

Peace News sellers were out at meetings and demonstrations all over the country and deserve a bouquet, but we still need regular sales and subscriptions. Can you afford an 8-week trial subscription for one of your friends? If all readers did we would double our circulation!

But individual trial subs. or no, please don't forget to order *Peace News* for that meeting this week. Fill in the coupon below and order now!

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It is when he comes to foreign affairs that Morgan Phillips reveals the Party's extraordinary lack of a sense of priorities. On the "shadow of the Bomb" he has this—and this only—to say: "Here is a danger of annihilation so imminent and immediate that we are growing used to it."

The Church tells us we must "learn to live with the Bomb." Morgan Phillips tells us we are succeeding! For him then to go on to claim that the Tories have "no answer" to the problem demonstrates what happens when loyalty far outruns objectivity.

He further states that the Conservatives "have failed to put forward any bold disarmament initiative," though he does not specifically claim that Ernest Bevin's cold war policies in the late Forties were superior in this respect to Mr. Macmillan's visit to Moscow.

On "the need for unity" he calls for more consultation at the top—the leaders of the affiliated unions, the Parliamentary Party and the National Executive.

During the next two years, he proposes, the National Executive will survey "the major foreign and domestic problems" and report on them to Annual Conference.

At a press conference on Tuesday Morgan Phillips confirmed that the Executive's suggested revision of Clause Four (on public ownership) had been withdrawn and that this year's Conference "must have the fullest opportunity to debate defence."

He insisted, however, that the Parliamentary Party is an autonomous body (and cannot therefore be bound by decisions of Annual Conference), and this view will be the basis of a statement to be issued this weekend on the constitution of the Party.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the issue of the H-bomb and "defence" will be nowhere near finished in the Party even if the unilateralists appear to win the debate in October.

*Labour Party, 6d.

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Scandinavian countries, Germany, Holland, Austria and Japan.

Expressing his deep satisfaction with the possibilities of this kind of co-operation with the UN, Mr. Sen Das said:

"Our non-violent troops will demonstrate to the world the possibilities of a practicable alternative to militarism more effectively than all our anti-war propaganda. Though our volunteers may not always achieve their highest ideals I feel confident they will render with courage and wisdom a unique service that will challenge the concept of violent methods as much as Gandhi's campaigns."

Mr. Sen Das pointed out that a non-violent force—made up of persons trained in solving problems in human relations, reducing fear psychology and promoting free co-operation between all peoples—was far more consistent with the long-range purposes of the UN than a military force whose whole training was for war and not peace values.

Alas, dear Peace News readers, this story is not true. It is fiction. Except for the ICNVA and the British and SCI non-violent training programmes, however, the people and groups mentioned above do exist. It could have been true. We have the people, both leaders and volunteers. It can be true in the future if we start taking the steps now that will prepare us to act in future situations. Readers interested in this approach may write to Bob Luitweiler, care of Peace News, and be put in touch with some of the non-violent training programmes or groups interested in starting them.

Non-violent troops called to the Congo

From Bob Luitweiler.

THE International Committee on Non-

Violent Action announced last Monday that Dr. Ralph Bunche, Executive Assistant to the UN Secretary General, had accepted their offer to send an international force of 500 to 1,000 trained non-violent soldiers into Katanga instead of the UN military force denied entrance by the Tshombe separationist government. Mr. Tshombe agreed with Dr. Bunche by telephone that a non-violent force would be welcome after Dr. Bunche pointed out that being unarmed their only power would be moral persuasion.

Mr. L. K. Sen Das, speaking for the International Committee for Non-Violent Action added that due to their specialised training and non-violent discipline he was convinced they could not only maintain order after the Belgian troops left, but could also render many other valuable services required in the establishment of the new country. He also hoped that very soon they could help supervise, in co-operation with UN technical personnel, a plebiscite to determine what political status the residents of Katanga wanted.

The various non-violent troops will be organised in linguistic groups rather than by nationality with many pacifist and non-violent organisations supplying volunteers. The French speaking unit will probably be led by Jean van Lierde, Belgian pacifist leader, who is a personal friend of the Congolese leaders, having helped them in many instrumental ways during the Round Table Conference in Brussels,

at which they were promised independence.

Other French-speaking leaders will include leaders of the Communauté de l'Arche and Action Civique Non-violent which have been responsible for the recent large, well-disciplined non-violent demonstrations in France. The 30-man nucleus of the French "peace army" already pledged to full time non-violent action will also participate. Another French-speaking contingents will be 27 trained Service Civil International volunteers who will leave their non-violent training work camp in North Africa shortly before the course is finished.

Rev. Martin Luther King of Alabama has agreed to be one of the leaders of the English-speaking contingent during the first few months. Co-leaders with him will include several Bhutan workers, members of the Shantisena initiated by Vinoba Bhave and several members of the Sahara Project team, including Michael Scott and Michael Randle.

Heading the British contingent will be 22 trainees from the recently established centre for non-violent training. One hundred and fifty volunteers are expected to go from Great Britain, including volunteers from all the pacifist organisations and the Society of Friends. One hundred will be sent from the pacifist groups in the USA and Canada. Several hundred are expected from India.

The non-violent training centre in Ghana started after the Sahara anti-atom-test project will also send a sizeable group. Volunteers are also expected from the